1: Karsten--292 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 775, 769 (1928-29)

"The lance, a terrible weapon of the Jibaros, inspires not only living men but even the spirits and demons with fear. The soul of an Indian killed with the lance in terror flees far away from the mutilated body and does not remain for some time in the neighbourhood, as is believed to be the case at ordinary death. The relatives themselves stand in such horror of the dead body that they only hurriedly bury it on the same spot where they find it, thereafter speedily leaving the place. The devoted cult which the Jibaros generally pay to their dead relatives is entirely lacking in regard to those killed in war, and food is never put on their graves."

"....there is a great dread of the disease-and death-demon, who is more or less identified with the spirit [464] of the deceased. Spirits of old men, especially those of family-fathers and medicine-men, are particularly feared, and the food and drink which is placed on their graves is offered to them chiefly with a view to propitiating them and gaining their favour. Deceased family-fathers require to be worshipped, and unless the due cult is paid to them may revenge themselves. That the cult of the dead is in the first place inspired by fear, appears from the words which are addressed to the spirit when the relatives are about to leave the house, having placed the offerings on the grave: 'Take this food, spirit, and do us no harm! If you want to cause evils, go to Shuāras of other families or tribes, our enemies, and harm them, but leave us in peace!'

It is thought that the spirits of the deceased (wakáni) like to visit their surviving relatives even after they have moved to another house, and in case their cult has been neglected they may punish them by sending disease, by killing the swine or the hens or the dogs, or by robbing small children. A wakáni of this nature is looked upon as evil iguanchi. He may, during the sleep, entice even the souls of grown-up people to follow him to the forest, where he gives him a certain beetle, called shúndu, to eat, with the consequence that the person in question will get mad. When the wakáni visits the house he comes in a shadow-like form and is as a rule invisible. However, someone of

the people in the house may see him for a moment entering, taking a few steps into the room, and again disappearing. Frequently the spirit is hungry and comes to seek food. He opens the big clay pot where the manioc substance is kept, by removing the leaves covering its mouth, and takes of the substance to prepare beer. Afterwards it looks as if a child's hand had been in the clay pot taking manioc. 'The spirits', the Indians explained, 'need only a little; they only consume the essence of the food and drink'."

1: Karsten--464-465 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 769 (1928-29)

"To keep off the spirits of recently dead persons from the house, the Jibaros are in the habit of painting upon the doors small human figures with the hands stretched out, figures of snakes, birds, etc. (See Pl. XVII, 2). The Jibaros, as we have seen, not only use primitive doors consisting of a few poles by means of which the entrance is shut, but also doors more resembling those of civilized peoples. The figures in question I was informed, represent the souls of the departed (wakáni) and are by no means only decorations. 'The departed', I was told, 'like to visit their relatives and may strike us with sickness and death or other misfortune. But when they find their own images painted upon the door they are pleased and do us no harm.' This is another expression for [465] the fact that the spirits of the dead are simply conjured or in some way controlled and kept at bay by means of the figures representing them.

Although the dead are as a rule resentful, they may on the other hand reward such relatives as know their duties towards them by bestowing all sorts of material blessings upon them."

2: Stirling--75 [2] (1930-1931)1938 Jivaro
116, 769

"According to Anguasha, the Jivaros gave much more thought to harm that might come to them through the ill will of neglected relatives than they did to the revengeful actions of enemy ghosts. At the time fathers instruct their young sons in their duties along these lines they recount the killings that their enemies have perpetrated and urge them to take revenge whenever the opportunity affords, saying that if they do so the spirits of their dead relatives will be pleased and will bring good crops and good luck to them, but that if they neglect doing so these same spirits will be angry and will bring them corresponding misfortune."

"The ceremonies held with the tsantsas are in the nature of an exhibition for the benefit of departed relatives in order to show that the Jivaros are fulfilling their obligations of blood revenge. The severed head, previous to its preparation as a tsantsa, is looked upon as inert and impotent. The ceremonies and processes attendant upon the preparation of the head, transforming it into a tsantsa, charge it with magical powers so that it becomes animated with tsarutama, much in the same manner as ceremonial masks and other paraphernalia are vitalized in the pueblo area of the American Southwest. (6) [76] Because of this fact, it is necessary in making a tsantsa to follow these rituals carefully and to continue to comply with certain observances, which link the tsantsa with its maker on the one hand and his lineage on the other, for a stated period of time following the preparation.

Most of the early tsantsas that came to the attention of Europeans in the middle of the nineteenth century were looted from burial sepulchers of the Jivaros. There is no doubt that in former times it was the custom to bury the tsantsa trophies with the warrior who had prepared them, and this is probably done in some sections of the Jivaro country at the present time. It seems very improbable that a Jivaro would desire to have the bottled-up ghosts of his enemies interred with him in the same tomb. The preparation

"6. This interpretation differs considerably from that of Karsten, who says that the principal reason for the preparation of the tsantsas is to paralyze the spirit of the dead enemy attached to the head so that it cannot escape and take revenge upon the murderer."

of a tsantsa is considered a definite insult to the enemy. Because the ghosts of relatives are feared more than those of enemies, tsantsas are never made of relatives killed in fights or battles."

25: Vigna--39 [6] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 769

The dead are venerated, and one might almost say that they have a true cult.